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Edited by E. Haldeman-Julius

Karl Marx and the American Civil War

Herman Schleuter

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very rare

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1. ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

On September 28, 1864, in St. Martin's Hall in London, there took place that famous meeting of workingmen which gave birth to the International Workingmen's Association, an organization which powerfully stimulated and promoted the labor movement of all countries in the sixties. This meeting appointed a provisional central committee for the management of the affairs of the new organization, which came later to be called the General Council, and which was composed of representatives of different nationalities.

Even before the foundation of the International Workingmen's

4 KARL MARX AND CIVIL WAR

Association, it was above all others the men who became the members of the General Council who had worked for the cause of the American North in their circles, and who had encouraged and inspired the English working class in their heroic stand against the manufacturers and the Government.

On November 27, 1864, Karl Marx, the leading spirit of the General Council, wrote thus about the elements composing this committee to his friend Joseph Weydemeyer, then in the United States:

“Its English members are mostly chiefs of the local trades unions, hence the real labor kings of London, the same people who gave Garibaldi such a rousing welcome, and who by their monster meeting in St. James’ Hall (Bright in the chair) prevented Palmerston from declaring war against the United States when he was on

the point of doing it.”*

Previous to the organization of the International Workingmen's Association Marx also had thrown his influence to the leaders of the English workingmen in favor of the Union cause.

The General Council of the International continued the agitation in this direction which its members had previously begun.

In the beginning of November, 1864, Lincoln was elected for the second time to the Presidency of the United States. Under the direct influence and upon the suggestion of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association, the workingmen of London arranged a new series of meetings to protest against the anti-Union atti-

*F. Mehring, *Neue Beiträge zur Biographie von K. Marx und F. Engels*, *Neue Zeit*, 1906-07, Vol. II, p. 224.

tude of the manufacturers and the Government of their country. It was Marx who furnished the initiative for this renewal of agitation.*

In one of the following meetings of the General Council, one of its members, Dick, made a motion, which was seconded by G. Howell, to draft an address to the American people congratulating them upon their struggles and sacrifices in behalf of the principles of freedom and upon their re-election of Lincoln to the Presidency of the United States. A committee was appointed to formulate this address, and this committee submitted its draft, the author of which was Marx, to the General Council at its meeting on November 29th. The draft was

*According to letters to the author by Friedrich Lessner, of London, at the time a member of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association.

accepted, and a resolution was adopted to forward it by a committee to Charles Francis Adams, the American Minister at London, for transmission to his Government. The following is the text of the address:

“To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America.

“Sir:—We congratulate the American people on your re-election by a large majority. If resistance to the Slave Power was the watchword of your first election, the triumphal war-cry of your re-election is Death to Slavery.

“From the commencement of the titanic American strife the workingmen of Europe felt distinctively that the Star Spangled Banner carried the destiny of their class. The contest for the territories which opened the *dire épopée*, was it not to decide whether the virgin soil of im-

mense tracts should be wedded to the labor of the immigrant or be prostituted by the tramp of the slave-driver?

“When an oligarchy of 300,000 slaveholders dared to inscribe for the first time in the annals of the world ‘Slavery’ on the banner of armed revolt, when on the very spots where hardly a century ago the idea of one great Democratic Republic had first sprung up, whence the first declaration of the Rights of Man was issued, and the first impulse given to the European Revolution of the eighteenth century, when on those very spots counter-revolution, with systematic thoroughness, gloried in rescinding ‘the ideas entertained at the time of the formation of the old constitution’ and maintained ‘slavery to be a beneficial institution,’ indeed, the only solution of the great problem of the ‘relation of capital to labor,’ and cynically proclaimed

property in man 'the cornerstone of the new edifice,'—then the working classes of Europe understood at once, even before the fanatic partisanship of the upper classes, for the Confederate gentry had given its dismal warning, that the slaveholders' rebellion was to sound the tocsin for a general holy war of property against labor, and that for the men of labor, with their hopes for the future, even their past conquests were at stake in that tremendous conflict on the other side of the Atlantic. Everywhere they bore therefore patiently the hardships imposed upon them by the cotton crisis, opposed enthusiastically the proslavery intervention—importunities of their betters—and from most parts of Europe contributed their quota of blood to the good of the cause.

"While the workingmen, the true political power of the North, allowed slavery to defile

10 KARL MARX AND CIVIL WAR

their own republic, while before the Negro, mastered and sold without his concurrence, they boasted it the highest prerogative of the white-skinned laborer to sell himself and choose his own master, they were unable to attain the true freedom of labor, or to support their European brethren in their struggle for emancipation; but this barrier to progress has been swept off by the red sea of civil war.

“The workingmen of Europe felt sure that, as the American War of Independence initiated a new era of ascendancy for the middle class, so the American Anti-slavery War will do for the working classes. They consider it an earnest sign of the epoch to come that it fell to the lot of Abraham Lincoln, the single-minded son of the working class, to lead his country through the matchless struggle for the rescue of the enchained race and the reconstruction of a social world.

“Signed on behalf of the International Workingmen’s Association, the Central Council:

“Longmaid, Worley, Whitlock, Blackmore, Hartwell, Pidgeon, Lucraft, Weston, Dell, Nicars, Shaw, Lake, Buckley, Osborn, Howell, Carter, Wheeler, Starnsby, Morgan, Grossmith, Dick, Denoual, Jourdain, Morissot, Leroux, Bordage, Bosquet, Talandier, Dupont, L. Wolf, Aldrovandi, Lama, Solustri, Nuspert, Eccarius, Wolf, Lessner, Pfänder, Lochner, Taub, Balliter, Rypcrynski, Hansen, Schantzenbeck, Smales, Cornelius, Peterson, Otto, Bagnagatti, Setocri; George Odgers, President of the Council; P. V. Lubez, Corresponding Secretary for France; Karl Marx, Corresponding Secretary for Germany; C. P. Fontana, Corresponding Secretary for Italy; J. E. Holtorp, Corresponding Secretary for Poland; H. F. Jung, Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland; Wil-

liam Cremer, Hon. General Secretary, 18 Greek Street, Soho, London W.”*

At the meeting of the General Council on Tuesday, February 2, 1865, the General Secretary read a reply, written by the United States Minister in London, which was as follows:

“Legation of the United States of America.

“London, Jan. 28, 1865.

“Sir:—I am directed to inform you that the address of the Central Council of your Association, which was duly transmitted through this legation to the President of the United States of America, has been received by him. So far as the sentiments expressed by it are personal, they are accepted by him with a sincere and anxious desire that he may be able to prove himself

**Beehive*. London, Jan. 7, 1865.

not unworthy of the confidence which has been recently extended to him by his fellow-citizens, and by so many friends of humanity and progress throughout the world. The Government of the United States of America has a clear consciousness that its policy neither is, nor could be, reactionary; but at the same time it adheres to the course which it adopted at the beginning of abstaining everywhere from propagandism and unlawful intervention. It strives to do equal justice to all states and to all men, and it relies upon the beneficent results of that effort for support at home, and for respect and good will throughout the world. Nations do not exist for themselves alone, but to promote the welfare and happiness of mankind by benevolent intercourse and example. It is in this relation that the United States regard their cause in the present conflict with slavery-

maintaining insurgents as the cause of human nature, and they derive new encouragement to persevere from the testimony of the workingmen of Europe that the National Alliance is favored with the enlightened approval and earnest sympathies.

“I have the honor to be, Sir,

“Your obedient servant,

“Charles Francis Adams.”

The attitude of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association, as reflected in the address to President Lincoln, did not, however, meet with the approval of all its sympathizers in the United States. Among those who protested against it were especially the members of the Communist Club of New York, who held that Lincoln's policy did not deserve to be thus honored.

2. ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL
COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION TO PRESIDENT ANDREW JOHNSON.

On April 14, 1865, Lincoln was fatally wounded in Ford's Theatre in Washington by a shot in the head fired by the actor, John Wilkes Booth. He died the next morning. At the same time Southern fanatics attempted to kill Secretary of State Seward in his bed and dangerously wounded him and his son. Vice-President Johnson succeeded Lincoln as President of the Union.

It was characteristic of the feeling towards the United States in the dominant circles of England that one of their mouthpieces in the press, on the arrival of the news of Lincoln's assassination, should publish the

following significant suggestion:

"The dagger or the pistol in the hands of the weakest worm that crawls in human shape upon the earth can change the destinies of nations or divert the current opinion into a new channel." And immediately following this sentence, without any transition, the paper described Lincoln's successor, Andrew Johnson, as a "bloodthirsty scoundrel," as the scum and outcast of mankind, as a most dangerous tyrant.*

It was of course only the most rabid element among the English public that extolled the assassin Booth as a champion of liberty, as a worthy successor of Brutus and of Tell, while on the other hand a large portion of those who had hitherto been hostile to Lincoln condemned Booth's deed.

On the report of Lincoln's

**Der Deutsche Eidgenosse*. London and Hamburg. 1865, p. 42.

death, the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association resolved to send another address to America, this time to the successor of the murdered President, Andrew Johnson. The address was adopted May 13th, and read as follows:*

“Address of the International Workingmen's Association to President Johnson.

“To Andrew Johnson, President of the United States.

“Dear Sir:

“The demon of the ‘peculiar

*The address was published in the London *Beehive* of May 20, 1865. It has been impossible to procure a copy of this issue of the *Beehive*, and the author of the present treatise has therefore been compelled to retranslate the address into English from a German translation of it to which he has had access. The wording which he here submits is therefore certain not to correspond with the original in every particular, but he feels that he can vouch for the essential accuracy of the message it conveyed.

institution,' for whose preservation the South rose in arms, did not permit its devotees to suffer honorable defeat on the open battlefield. What had been conceived in treason, must necessarily end in infamy. As Philip II.'s war in behalf of the Inquisition produced a Gerard, so Jefferson Davis's rebellion a Booth.

"We shall not seek for words of mourning and horror when the heart of two continents is throbbing with emotion. Even the sycophants who year after year and day after day were busily engaged in morally stabbing Abraham Lincoln and the great republic of which he was the head—even they are dismayed in the presence of this universal outburst of popular feeling and vie with one another in strewing flowers of rhetoric upon his open grave. They have at last come to recognize that he was a man whom defeat could not dishearten, nor

success intoxicate, who imperturbably pressed on towards his great goal without ever imperiling it by blind haste, who advanced deliberately and never retraced a step, who was never carried away by popular favor and never discouraged by the subsidence of popular enthusiasm, who answered acts of severity with the sunbeams of a loving heart, who brightened gloomy exhibitions of passion by the smile of humor, and who accomplished his titanic task as simply and as modestly as rulers by divine right are wont to do trifling things with great pomp and circumstance; in a word, he was one of those rare men who succeed in becoming great without ceasing to be good. So great, indeed, was the modesty of this great and good man that the world discovered that he was a hero only when he had died as a martyr.

“To be chosen at the side of

such a leader as the second victim by the hellish demons of slavery was an honor of which Mr. Seward was worthy. Was he not in a period of general indecision so perspicacious as to foresee the 'irrepressible conflict' and so unterrified as to foretell it? Did he not in the gloomiest moments of this conflict prove himself true to the duty of the Roman never to despair of the republic and its destiny? We hope with all our heart that he and his son will be, in less than ninety days, restored to health, to public activity, and to the well - deserved honors which await them.

"After a gigantic Civil War which, if we consider its colossal extension and its vast scene of action, seems in comparison with the Hundred Years' War and the Thirty Years' War and the Twenty-three Years' War of the Old World scarcely to have lasted ninety days, the task, Sir,

devolves upon you to uproot by law what the sword has felled, and to preside over the more difficult work of political reconstruction and social regeneration. The profound consciousness of your great mission will preserve you from all weakness in the execution of your stern duties. You will never forget that the American people at the inauguration of the new era of the emancipation of labor placed the burden of leadership on the shoulders of two men of labor—Abraham Lincoln the one, and the other Andrew Johnson.

“Signed in the name of the International Workingmen’s Association by the General Council, May 13, 1865:

“Charles Kaub, L. Delle, H. Klimrosch, M. Salbasella, Edward Coulson, G. Lochner, I. Weston, G. Howell, F. Lessner, G. Eccarius, H. Bollster, Bordage, C. Pfander, I. Osborne, B. Luirass, A. Valtien, N. P. Stan-

22 KARL MARX AND CIVIL WAR

sen, P. Peterson, I. Buckley, R. Shaw, K. Schapper, A. Janks, P. Fox, I. H. Longmaid, M. Morgan, G. L. Wheeler, I. D. Nicass, L. C. Vorley, Dr. Stainsby, F. Carter, E. Holtorp, Secretary for Poland; K. Marx, Secretary for Germany; H. Jung, Secretary for Switzerland; E. Dupont, Secretary for France; E. Whitlock, Financial Secretary; G. Odgers, President; W. R. Cremer, General Secretary."

3. ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

In September, 1865, the International met in conference in London, as the first congress of the Association which was to have taken place at this time in Brussels had been made impossible by the action of the Belgian Government. This London conference once more returned to a discussion of the question of slavery and resolved to send an address to the American people. The following was the address:

“Address of the Conference of the International Workingmen’s Association of September 25, 1865.

“To the People of the United States of America.

“Citizens of the Great Republic, once more we address you,

not in sympathetic condolence, but in words of congratulation.

“Had we not most profoundly sympathized with you in your times of trouble, when foes within and without were eagerly bent on destroying your Government and the principles of universal justice upon which it is based, we should not now venture to congratulate you upon your success.

“But we have never swerved in our loyalty to your cause, which is the cause of all mankind; nor did we ever despair of its final triumph, not even in the darkest shadows of its mishaps.

“In firm devotion to, and unfaltering faith in those principles of equality and fraternal communion for which you drew the sword, we were convinced that as soon as the conflict should be over and victory won, you would return it to its scabbard, and peace would once more come to your country and joy to

your people.

"Success has justified our expectations. Your war is the only example known of a government fighting against a fraction of its own citizens for the freedom of the people.

"Above all we congratulate you upon the termination of the war and the preservation of the Union. The Stars and Stripes, which your own sons had brutally trampled in the dust, once more flutter in the breeze from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, never again, we trust, to be insulted by your own children and never again to wave over bloody battlefields, whether those of domestic insurrection or those of foreign war.

"And may those misguided citizens who displayed so much valor on the battlefield in a wicked cause now display as much zeal in helping to heal the wounds which they struck and in restoring peace to the common

country.

“Again we felicitate you upon the removal of the cause of these years of affliction—upon the abolition of slavery. The strain upon your otherwise so shining escutcheon is forever wiped out. Never again shall the hammer of the auctioneer announce in your market-places sales of human flesh and blood and make mankind shudder at the cruel barbarism.

“Your noblest blood was shed in washing away these stains, and desolation has spread its black shroud over your country in penance for the past.

“To-day you are free, purified through your sufferings. A brighter future is dawning upon your glorious republic, proclaiming to the old world that a government of the people and by the people is a government for the people and not for a privileged minority.

“We had the honor to express

to you our sympathy in your affliction, to send you a word of encouragement in your struggles, and to congratulate you upon your success. Permit us to add a word of counsel for the future.

“Injustice against a fraction of your people having been followed by such dire consequences, put an end to it. Declare your fellow citizens from this day forth free and equal, without any reserve. If you refuse them citizens’ rights while you exact from them citizens’ duties you will sooner or later face a new struggle which will once more drench your country in blood.

“The eyes of Europe and of the whole world are on your attempts at reconstruction, and foes are ever ready to sound the death-knell of republican institutions as soon as they see their opportunity.

“We therefore admonish you, as brothers in a common cause,

to sunder all the chains of freedom, and your victory will be complete."

The policy of conciliation initiated by the American Government in regard to the South, and the adoption of the constitutional amendments affirming the political equality of the Negroes, were steps in accordance with the address which the conference of the International Workingmen's Association directed to the people of the United States.

A Rejuvenation of Has-Beens

BY H. M. TICHENOR.

Do you feel the infirmities of age creeping upon you? Are the fires of vitality slowly but surely dying out? Have you had dreams of the fountain of youth that made a globe trotter of Ponce de Leon? If such be the case, you are recommended to obtain a monkey, and have a surgeon do the rest.

The following New York press dispatch gives the details:

"Breeding silver foxes in the frozen North for their expensive pelts is a picayune financial proposition compared to the possibilities of breeding and raising monkeys whose glands will be used for the restoration of vitality, according to Dr. Serge Veronoff, Paris surgeon, who has come to the United States expecting to perform gland transplanting operations in colleges and before medical clinics.

"He urged that monkey farms be

established in the United States on a large scale. He said his operation would increase the life of a man from 70 years to more than a century. His several operations performed on Frenchmen have been successful, he declared, and at this time, one of his patients is heading an expedition into the French Congo to obtain chimpanzees which will form the nucleus of a farm in France.

"The immediate purpose of his trip to the United States is to perform an operation transferring the interstitial glands of a person who had met sudden death in a healthy condition to some man feeling the need of renewed youth. Dr. Veronoff said French laws prohibiting the mutilation of corpses have prevented him from performing this operation before.

"Dr. Veronoff was informed that he had a rival in the theory of gland transplanting in Dr. John R. Brinkley, a surgeon of Milford, Kans., who holds to the theory that goats' glands should be used instead of monkeys'.

"'Monkey glands are better than goat glands for several reasons,' said Dr. Veronoff. 'The blood of monkeys can scarcely be distinguished from that of humans and monkeys are the most highly developed animals, being susceptible to many diseases of man.

Also, monkeys are more prolific than goats. Many of the earlier experiments were on goats, but the 180 operations I performed proved conclusively to my mind that monkey glands are the best.’”

The foregoing prescription for the rejuvenation of has-beens seems simple enough. An injection of “insterstitial glands” does the work. A monkey is preferable, but in an emergency a goat might do. Or even a suddenly deceased healthy human. But to be sure of results get the monkey. And see that the doctor uses interstitial glands; which means, according to Webster’s Dictionary, an extraction from an interstice. An interstice, says Webster’s, is “a space which intervenes between one thing and another; especially, a narrow or small space between things close together, or between the component parts of a body; a chink; or a cranny.”

What you need is the monkey's chink. Or his cranny. Don't get confused over the word "chink" and think it's a Chinaman. Don't make any mistake in the prescription and then blame the bad effects on Dr. Serge Veronoff's discovery.

But seriously, even if the prescription should do the work beyond expectations, if it should made 70-year-old men hop around like youngsters—even if gray hairs departed, and bald spots renewed luxuriant growth, if old teeth were shed and new ones grew, and wrinkles smoothed out into ruddy flesh, and the smoldering embers of age became aglow with fresh fuel—even with all this and more, if it is only the men that are benefited, as seems to be the case according to the New York dispatch quoted, and the women are left to wither away with oncoming years, is

the proposition worth much after all?

Imagine the old man brought back to his twenties while the wife goes about worn and weary with the weight of years. Is this a "consummation to be desired?" No—unless the discovery—and perhaps it may—embraces the women, no gallant septuagenarian would be tempted to try the operation. No matter how successful it might prove, the jump backward to youth would land him out of his class. He would soon tire of being rejuvenated into the younger set, would mourn his lonely lot, when "from love's shining circle the gems drop away." He would long for the loves that had grown with the years. He would repeat with the Irish poet,

"When fond hopes have left us, and
loved ones have flown,
O who would inhabit this bleak world
alone!"

Completeness of the Sweep

BY H. M. TICHENOR.

The colossal profits coined off the agony and blood, the death and destruction of war is but one of the manifestations of the complete sweep that the capitalist system has developed for the purpose of exploitation.

Every imaginable element arising under a dictatorship of a profiteering class is turned into profits.

The diseases spawned by the foul air of congested tenement and factory districts, adulterated food and impure water, the perversion of nature's sex law, the desolation of poverty and the ravages of war, become profit-makers for a vast army of doctors, druggists and undertakers.

The crimes created by a soc-

ial system that denies millions the full opportunity to produce and retain those things essential to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," become profit makers for a vast army of lawyers, judges, detectives, department of justice officials and lawmaking legislators.

Under the capitalist system dishonesty offers big dividends, while honesty beggars.

And look at the profit that lies bring, platform, press and pulpit lies! Who, with an eye to business, would think of marketing the truth, with the expectation of making a financial success of it?

Under the capitalist system it is not only unprofitable to be truthful, but is liable to land the truth-teller in jail.

Everything prepared by the profiteering powers that be for the mental absorption of the masses is properly doped in the

interest of the class that prepares it.

The books they offer, the histories, novels and school books, are written to sustain the capitalist system of exploitation and war.

The theatrical performances, and that powerful educational medium, the picture plays, are daily and nightly purveyors of capitalist class dissimulation. To put it mildly, a whole lot of them, especially the picture plays are more poisonous to the minds of the masses than moonshine liquor to their stomachs.

And the masses fall all over themselves to get the poison.

They pay for it, like they pay for everything else purposely gotten up to make them admire a social system that "bridles and saddles" them so that their "booted and spurred" masters can ride.

The completeness of the sweep that the capitalist system has developed is made particularly, and most offensively prominent during the holiday season. It even takes in Jesus. The ones that live by expropriating the wealth created by workers not only managed long ago to transform Jesus' message of "peace on earth, toward men goodwill" into a bunch of chloroforming creeds, but have succeeded in utilizing his birthday to fill their pockets.

Perhaps future history will record this as the master-stroke of brazen impudence exhibited by the capitalist exploiters during the age of profiteering.

Christian and Jew vie with each other in loudly proclaiming the various Christmas wares they have on sale.

Full-page advertisements blaze the columns of the cap-

italist-class papers announcing bargains in the name of Christ.

Store fronts are covered with monster Santa Clauses lit up with colored electric lights to lure the passerby to let loose his dollars. The Dutch patron saint of children is made a big money-getter under modern capitalism.

And the irony of it all is that if Jesus were here today he would be run in by Palmer's agents and soaked with twenty years in the pen.

What part would he play in a Christmas under capitalism that makes millions of dollars profit for the class that put him out of the way when he was here before?

Next to the sight of Lenin and his red army no historical character would agitate the capitalist class as much as the appearance of the ancient agitator of Palestine. There are

many professing Christians who would pull in their Christmas celebration if Jesus were here to take note. Being absent he comes in with the completeness of the sweep for profits.

A sweep that overlooks nothing—not even funeral expenses—when dollars are in sight.

Such is capitalism.

A complete sweep for profits.
Gathering in everything.

Making profits out of the sufferings of the class that produces all wealth.

No workers, no wealth produced, no profits.

And it requires a capitalist class system to allow the profiteers to take the profits from the wealth produced by the workers.

It isn't arranged for the workers to retain the wealth they produce.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND THE WORKING CLASS.

1. THE ENGLISH WORKINGMEN AND THE CIVIL WAR.

Of the European countries, it was especially England that was affected by the outbreak of the Civil War. As we have seen, England was connected with the Southern States by a bond of common interests. Its textile industry, which had reached its highest development towards the close of the fifties, needed the raw cotton of the cultivation of which the Southern States possessed a monopoly. The latter, owing to the institution of slavery, were interested in the importation of English products free of duty, while the young manufacturing industry of the North favored a protective policy which found actual expression in the national tariff laws. It was consequently in the interest of the English middle class that the Southern States should form an independent confederacy with tariff regulations of its own which should grant England undisturbed free trade. Under such an arrangement the South could supply England with the raw cotton which was so necessary to it, and English manufacturers could export their industrial products of all kinds to the Southern States, free of duty, and without fear of competition. Under the pressure of

these interests the early Abolitionist impulses of the ruling class in England disappeared, and English intervention in favor of the Southern States was advocated in these circles.

Besides England, France also was interested in the events taking place in the United States. Textile industry was of course far less developed in the Second Empire than in Great Britain, and cotton did not play as important a role in French politics as in English. Nevertheless, French textile workers were also affected by the scarcity of cotton and suffered severely from the crisis produced thereby. But although their distress was due to the War of Secession, like their English comrades they stood by the Union and opposed Negro slavery, and by no means shared their ruler's bias in favor of the Southern slaveholders. On the contrary, they took a very decided stand against them.

It was, however, not the part which the cotton famine and all it involved played in France that drove the French Emperor to sympathize with the South. Louis Napoleon was filled with the lust of conquest and aggrandizement. He had designs upon Mexico that could scarcely be realized if the United States remained intact, and for this reason he sided with the Southern States. He would gladly have made the attempt to break the blockade of the Southern ports proclaimed by the Washington Government, and he would even have directly intervened in favor of the South, had he not feared thereby to involve France in conflicts of far-reaching consequences. For

this reason, he desired the co-operation of England in this enterprise, and he did his best to obtain it.

In England the government was far more dependent on public opinion than in France. If public opinion in Great Britain had really demanded the recognition of the Southern Confederacy, if it had demanded active intervention in its favor, the Government would only too willingly have obeyed the pressure. But in the face of the public opinion emphatically opposed to all intervention on the part of England in the affairs of America, the Government dared not pursue a contrary course. The decision consequently lay with England.

Only a few years had passed since England, on the occasion of the visit of Harriet Beecher Stowe, the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the book which graphically described the sufferings of Negro slaves, melted in sentimental approval, especially since the author was the honored guest in the most exclusive circles of the English nobility. After the outbreak of the Civil War not a trace of this sentiment remained in the hearts of the English middle class. "Today [1862] we find only here and there one among the Englishmen who does not fanatically side with the slave States, and that one probably has not the courage to express his opinions"* — This was true as far as the

*Lothar Bucher: *Die Londoner Industrieausstellung von 1862*. Berlin, 1863, p. 155. Bucher evidently considered only the ruling class as "Englishmen."

ruling classes were concerned, and they indeed tried their best to persuade the Government to intervene in behalf of the South. They arranged labor demonstrations and meetings declaring in favor of the South and of open hostilities against the North for the purpose of showing that these sentiments had the backing of English "public opinion." But under the influence of persons, many of whom subsequently belonged to the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association, the workingmen of England offered the most determined opposition to the attempt of forcing them into demonstrations favoring the slaveholders. English workingmen had themselves become only too well acquainted with slavery to espouse its support in one of its most aggravated forms.

The manufacturers now resorted to intimidation to compel the workingmen to join in the cry for war. Starvation, that ever ready weapon in the hands of the middle class, was to force the workingmen of England to declare for slavery in America and thereby enable the Government to say that public opinion demanded its hostile intervention in behalf of the South. The Civil War, and especially the blockade of the southern ports by Northern forces, had created a scarcity of cotton in England which, by the way, was not altogether unwelcome to the manufacturers. For there had been an overproduction in the cotton industry of England in 1860. "Its effects were still felt during the years immediately following. . . . The demand for labor had in con-

sequence already been decreased here [in Blackburn, where in 1860 there were 30,000 mechanical looms], months before the effects of the cotton blockade made themselves felt. . . . The stock on hand [of the manufacturers] of course rose in price as long as it lasted, and the alarming depreciation which ordinarily inevitably accompanies such crises was thus avoided.”*

A temporary closing of factories thus sent up the prices of the accumulated commodities, a situation by no means deprecated by the cotton lords, especially since they cherished the hope that starvation would speedily cause the workingmen to adopt the views of the manufacturers in regard to the Civil War in America. So the textile factories in the north of England were shut down. More than half of the looms and spindles were idle. The wages of the spinners and weavers who continued to be employed were artificially and forcibly reduced in a manner which literally led to starvation. The manufacturers deliberately increased the misery into which the workingmen had been thrown by the scarcity of cotton, hoping thus to drive them to despair and to demand the Government's intervention in the American troubles. For, as the middle-class organs declared, the intervention of England would put an end to their misery.

And this misery of the workingmen, especially in the textile districts of Lancashire, was

**Report on Factories.* October, 1862, pp. 28-29. Quoted by Karl Marx: *Kapital*, III., 1, p. 106.

indeed alarming. In 1863, when conditions had already somewhat improved, the weekly wages of weavers and spinners amounted to 3s. 4d. and 5s. 1d. Despite this low rate, these wages were still further reduced, particularly by fines. In 1862 weavers' wages ranged from 2s. 6d per week up.

"No wonder that, in some parts of Lancashire, a kind of famine fever broke out.* But the working-people had to suffer not only from the experiments of the manufacturers inside the mills, and of the municipalities outside; not only from reduced wages and absence of work, from want and from charity, and from the eulogistic speeches of Lords and Commons. Unfortunate females who, in consequence of the cotton famine, were at its commencement thrown out of employment, and have thereby become outcasts of society, and now, though trade has revived and work is plentiful, continue members of that unfortunate class, and are likely to continue so. There are also in the borough more youthful prostitutes than I have known for the last 25 years."*

The workingmen of England were starving with exemplary patience. They saw their daughters drift into a life of shame while hunger-typhus decimated their own ranks, but they would not yield to the demands of the brutal factory lords. Not only did they refuse

*Marx: *Capital*, I., p. 283.

**Report on Factories*. October 31, 1865. Quoted by Marx: *Capital*, I., p. 283.

to fall into line with the wishes of their masters and declare themselves in favor of the South, but on the contrary they declared themselves as distinctly against such a policy. The workingmen of England never had better leaders than at this period, and on these leaders' advice they espoused the cause of the abolition of Negro slavery and protested against the intervention of the Government in favor of the South.

Hardly had Lincoln, after more than a year of cautious dealing with the slavery question, intimated that the War of Secession might be transformed into a war of Negro emancipation, than the workingmen of England, in hundreds of public meetings all over the country, in all industrial sections and large cities, hailed this move with enthusiasm and demanded the initiation of energetic measures against slavery and the slaveholders. In vain were the sneers with which the English ruling class commented on the early defeats of the Union army, in vain was the hypocritical attitude of Gladstone and his colleagues in the Government who sought to disguise their secret desire for intervention by the declaration that the Union could never suppress the Rebellion and that the Civil War meant only useless and aimless bloodshed. Cheerfully, even enthusiastically, the English workingmen bore starvation and misery, and protested more and more loudly against Negro slavery and against the intervention of their Government in favor of the Southern rebels.

In the north of the country, in the cotton

districts, where the manufacturers attempted to coerce their employees by starvation, one of the active agitators in favor of the Union was Ernest Jones, the champion and poet of the Chartist movement. His eloquence was irresistible, and his speeches against the slaveholders were so impressive that the towns of Ashton and Rockdale had them printed and circulated at their own expense. When Jones, before a crowded mass meeting at Blackburn, surrounded by the hostile local manufacturers on the platform, exclaimed, "Why did the South secede?" one of the latter replied, "For free trade," whereupon the speaker instantly retorted, "Free trade in what? Free trade in the lash—free trade in the branding iron—free trade in chains."*

The applause which broke forth from the assembled workingmen need not be described. The glowing eloquence of Jones contributed its share in inspiring the starving textile workers of Lancashire to persist in their position.

Let us compare now with the heroism of the workingmen of England the contemptible hypocrisy of the middle class and its leaders. The same Gladstone who declared the attempts of the North to suppress the rebellion of the slaveholders to be futile, and who only waited for an opportunity to bring about an intervention of England in favor of the Southern States, this same Gladstone declared in a speech that the whole history of the Christian

*Frederick Leary: *Ernest Jones*. London, 1887, p. 72.

church could not furnish so brilliant an example of Christian resignation as that of the workingmen of Lancashire.† Of course, this "Christian resignation" and the exemplary patience of these workingmen were easily explained. Mr. Gladstone himself would have them, had they become impatient, imprisoned and shot to pieces amid the applause of the manufacturers, who were responsible for all the misery.

In New York a committee was formed for the purpose of collecting money for the starving spinners and weavers in the north of England and thus alleviating their misery. The "suffering factory workers" of Blackburn addressed a letter to this committee and "to the inhabitants of the United States" beseeching them to furnish the means for their emigration to the United States. But the starving workingmen of the north of England were of far greater use to the Northern capitalists by remaining where they were and continuing to starve and heroically to protest against the machinations of their masters than by coming to the United States. So money was indeed sent to relieve their immediate distress, but Brother Jonathan lent a deaf ear to their entreaties for emigration on a large scale.

The workingmen of England could count even less upon the encouragement of the ruling class of their own country in their plans for emigration. The great mass of the textile

†Bucher, pp. 156-57.

workers was indeed without employment at the time, but the manufacturers desired to retain the skilled laborers until they should need them again. On March 24, 1863, a manufacturer declared in the London Times:

"Encourage or allow the working-power to emigrate, and what of the capitalists? . . . Take away the cream of the workers, and fixed capital will depreciate in a great degree, and the floating will not subject itself to a struggle with the short supply of inferior labor. . . . We are told the workers wish it [emigration]. Very natural it is that they should do so. . . . Reduce, compress the cotton trade by taking away its working-power and reducing their wages expenditure, say one fifth, or five millions, and what then would happen to the class above, the small store-keepers, and what of the rents—the cottage rents? . . . Trace out the effects upward to the small farmer, the better householder, and . . . the land-owner, and say if there could be any suggestion more suicidal, to all classes of the country, than by enfeebling a nation by exporting the best of its manufacturing population, and destroying the value of some of its most productive capital and enrichment"*

The manufacturers' cry of despair found willing ears. The emigration of the workingmen was prevented. "Parliament did not vote a single farthing in aid of emigration, but simply passed some acts empowering the municipal

*Marx: *Capital*, I., pp. 362-363.

corporations to keep the operatives in a half-starved state—i. e., to exploit them at less than the normal wages.”*

The municipalities ordered public works. The unemployed were set to work on drainage, roads, stone cutting, paving, etc., and drew relief from the local authorities. This action virtually amounted to a relief of the manufacturers, whose skilled hands were kept in the country. Thus “the manufacturer, in secret understanding with the Government, prevented emigration as far as possible, partly in order to have instantly available their capital which consisted in the flesh and blood of these workmen, and partly in order to be sure of the rent which these workmen paid them.”†

Many of the manufacturers owned the houses in which the workingmen employed by them were living. Rent could not be paid during the time there was no work. The unpaid rent would have been a pure loss if the workingmen had succeeded in realizing their plan for emigration. Another reason which induced the manufacturers to oppose the scheme with all the means at their disposal was the fact that it offered the workingmen an opportunity to escape from their wretched conditions.

The heroic attitude of the textile workers of England during the Civil War in America constitutes one of the most glorious pages in the history of the working class and must there-

*Marx: *Capital*, I., p. 364.

†Marx: *Kapital*, III., I., pp. 111-115.

fore be emphasized here. They suffered, starved and even died for the cause of Negro emancipation in America. And yet a little less patience would in this case have made the workingmen even more heroic. But the spirit of the Chartists had passed, and the workingmen of England were now great only in passive resistance. The perfidy of the ruling class never challenged instant active resistance more than did the conduct of the English manufacturers and the English government at the time of the Civil War.

The meetings protesting against a war in favor of the Southern States had in the meantime been continued. It was especially during the late winter of 1862 and of 1863 that one such meeting followed another. Above all others the workingmen of London began to be aroused. The trade unions of the metropolis called a meeting at St. James Hall for March 26th, which was of special importance, and the declarations of which were recognized as the expression of English working class opinion. At this meeting a prominent part was played by W. R. Cremer, then a cabinet-maker, subsequently a member of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association, and still later one of the champions of the international peace movement. John Bright was in the chair, and among the speakers were John Stuart Mill and Prof. E. S. Beesly. In an address to Abraham Lincoln which was drawn up by this monster meeting this passage occurs:

"Though we have felt proud of our country

... yet have we ever turned with glowing admiration to your great Republic, where a higher political and social freedom has been established."

And John Bright declared:

"I am persuaded that the more perfect the friendship that is established between the people of England and the free people of America, the more you will find your path of progress here made easy for you, and the more will social and political liberty advance among us."*

Lord Palmerston, then at the head of the English Government, was about to declare war against the Union. According to the testimony of Karl Marx it was this monster meeting of the English trade unions, together with the general attitude of the English working class in the matter, that prevented him from carrying out his intention. The Northern States of America have to thank the working class of England that at that trying period in their conflict with the South they were not involved in an additional war with England, and perhaps also with France, which would have seriously imperilled the existence of the Union.

*Henry Bryan Binns: *Abraham Lincoln*. London, 1907.

2. ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND THE WORKINGMEN OF ENGLAND.

Near the end of September, 1862, Lincoln issued a proclamation to the effect that on January 1, 1863, he would declare free all slaves in those States which should then be in rebellion against the United States and refuse to lay down their arms.

It was natural for the ruling classes of the South to ignore this proclamation. The Southern States had been enabled to maintain a few good privateers for injuring Northern Commerce, aided and encouraged therein mainly by England, its nobility, shipbuilders and merchants, with the Government's tacit approval. The slave-holders had every reason to expect that the English ruling classes would lend the Confederacy still further assistance.

But as we have seen, the English working class put in its veto here. The proclamation by Lincoln of his intention to abolish slavery by January 1st called forth great rejoicing; and although there was heard here and there a note of disappointment because the abolition of slavery was put forth as a war measure and not as an unconditional condemnation of slavery on principle, great demonstrations of workingmen took place, alike in the north and the south of England. In meetings at London and at Manchester it was resolved to send an address to President Lincoln expressing the thanks of the English workingmen for

the Emancipation Proclamation and encouraging him in taking still more decisive steps. Both meetings took place December 31, 1862.

The address adopted by the London meeting read as follows:

“The Workingmen of London to the President of the United States of America.

“To His Excellency, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America.

“Sir: We who offer this address are Englishmen and workingmen. We prize as our dearest inheritance, bought for us by the blood of our fathers, the liberty we enjoy—the liberty of free labor on the free soil. We have, therefore, been accustomed to regard with veneration and gratitude the founders of the great republic in which the liberties of the Anglo-Saxon race have been widened beyond all the precedents of the old world, and in which there was nothing to condemn or to lament but the slavery and degradation of men guilty only of a colored skin or an African parentage. We have looked with admiration and sympathy upon the brave, generous and untiring efforts or a large party in the Northern States to deliver the Union from this curse and shame. We rejoiced, sir, in your election to the Presidency, as a splendid proof that the principles of universal freedom and equality were arising to the ascendant. We regarded with abhorrence the conspiracy and rebellion by which it was sought at once to overthrow the su-

premacý of a government based upon the most popular suffrage in the world, and to perpetuate the hateful inequalities of race. We have ever heard with indignation the slander that ascribed to England sympathy with a rebellion of slaveholders, and all proposals to recognize in friendship a confederacy that boasts of slavery as its cornerstone. We have watched with the warmest interest the steady advance of your policy along the path of emancipation; and on this eve of the day on which your proclamation of freedom takes effect, we pray God to strengthen your hands, to confirm your noble purpose, and to hasten the restoration of that lawful authority which engages, in peace or war, by compensation or by force of arm, to realize the glorious principle on which your constitution is founded—the brotherhood, freedom, and equality of all men.”*

On the same day when the workingmen of London in mass meeting assembled framed the above address, the workingmen of Manchester held a meeting for the same purpose. No less than 6,000 persons were present in the hall, the largest of the city. The address adopted here was sent by the Mayor of Manchester by special messenger to the American Minister at London, Charles Francis Adams. The importance which the American Minister attached to this manifestation of the workingmen may be gathered from the letter with which he forwarded the address to Secretary

**Senate Documents.* Washington, 1863.

of State Seward, in Washington. This letter declared:

"This meeting is in every respect a most remarkable indication of the state of popular sentiment in Great Britain. It will doubtless make a strong impression elsewhere, and, if duly followed up, may have the effect of restoring, in a degree, the amicable feeling between the two countries."*

The address, whose significance was truly set forth by this letter of the minister, read as follows:

"Address to the Workingmen of Manchester
to His Excellency,

"Abraham Lincoln, President of the United
States of America.

"As citizens of Manchester, assembled at the Free Trade Hall, we beg to express our fraternal sentiments towards you and your country.

"We rejoice in your greatness, as an outgrowth of England, whose blood and language you share, whose orderly and legal freedom you have applied to new circumstances, over a region immeasurably greater than our own. We honor your free States as a singularly happy abode for the working millions where industry is honored. One thing alone has, in the past, lessened our sympathy with your country and our confidence in it; we mean

**Senate Documents.* Washington, 1863.

the ascendancy of politicians who not merely maintained Negro slavery, but desired to extend and root it more deeply. Since we have discerned, however, that the victory of the free North in the war which has so sorely distressed us as well as afflicted you, will shake off the fetters of the slave, you have attracted our warm and earnest sympathy.

"We joyfully honor you, as the President, and the Congress with you, for the many decisive steps towards practically exemplifying your belief in the words of your great founders: 'All men are created free and equal.'

"You have procured the liberation of the slaves in the district around Washington, and thereby made the centre of your federation visibly free. You have enforced the laws against the slave trade and kept up your fleet against it, even while every ship was wanted for service in your terrible war. You have nobly decided to receive ambassadors from the Negro republics of Hayti and Liberia, thus forever removing that unworthy prejudice which refuses the rights of humanity to men and women on account of their color. In order more effectually to stop the slave trade, you have made with our Queen a treaty, which your Senate has ratified, for the right of mutual search. Your Congress has decreed freedom as the law forever in the vast unoccupied or half-settled territories which are directly subject to its legislative power. It has offered pecuniary aid to all the States which will enact emancipation locally, and has forbidden your generals to restore fugitive slaves

who seek their protection. You have entreated the slave masters to accept these moderate offers; and, after long and patient waiting, you, as commander-in-chief in the army, have appointed to-morrow, the first of January, 1863, as the day of unconditional freedom for the slaves of the rebel States. Heartily do we congratulate you and your country on this humane and righteous course.

"We assume that you cannot now stop short of a complete uprooting of slavery. It would not become us to dictate any details, but there are broad principles of humanity which must guide you. If complete emancipation in some States be deferred, though only to a predetermined day, still, in the interval, human beings should not be counted chattels. Women must have rights of chastity and maternity, men the rights of husbands; masters the liberty of manumission. Justice demands for the black, no less than for the white, the protection of the law—that his voice may be heard in your courts. Nor must any such abomination be tolerated as slave-breeding States and a slave market—if you are to earn the high reward of all your services in the approval of the universal brotherhood and of the Divine Father. It is for your free country to decide whether anything but immediate and total emancipation can secure the most indispensable rights of humanity, against the inveterate wickedness of local laws and local executives.

"We implore you, for your own honor and welcome, not to faint in your providential mis-

sion. While your enthusiasm is aflame, and the tide of events runs high, let the work be finished effectually. Leave no root of bitterness to spring up and work fresh misery to your children. It is a mighty task, indeed, to reorganize the industry, not only of four millions of the colored race, but of five millions of whites. Nevertheless, the vast progress you have made in the short space of twenty months fills us with hope that every stain on your freedom will shortly be removed, and that the erasure of that foul blot upon civilization and Christianity—chattel slavery—during your Presidency, will cause the name of Abraham Lincoln to be honored and revered by posterity. We are certain that such a glorious consummation will cement Great Britain to the United States in close and enduring regards. Our interests, moreover, are identified with yours. We are truly one people, though locally separate. And if you have any ill wishes here, be assured that they are chiefly those who oppose liberty at home, and that they will be powerless to stir up quarrels between us, from the very day in which your country becomes, undeniably and without exception, the home of the free.

“Accept our high admiration of your firmness in upholding the proclamation of freedom.”

On February 2, 1863, Lincoln sent the following letter in answer to the address of the London workingmen:

“To the workingmen of London: I have received the New Year’s address which you have

sent me, with a sincere appreciation of the exalted and humane sentiments by which it was inspired.

"As these sentiments are manifestly the enduring support of the free institutions of England, so I am sure also that they constitute the only reliable basis for free institutions throughout the world.

"The resources, advantages and powers of the American people are very great, and they have consequently succeeded to equally great responsibilities. It seems to have developed upon them to test whether a government established on the principles of human freedom can be maintained against an effort to build one upon the exclusive foundation of human bondage. They will rejoice with me in the new evidences which your proceedings furnish that the magnanimity they are exhibiting is justly estimated by the true friends of freedom and humanity in foreign countries.

"Accept my best wishes for your individual welfare, and for the welfare and happiness of the whole British people."

Abraham Lincoln."*

Previous to this, on January 19th, President Lincoln had sent a more comprehensive reply to the address of the workingmen of Manchester. This reply read as follows:

**Senate Documents.* Third Session, 37th Congress, 1862-1863.

“Washington, January 19, 1863.

“To the Workingmen of Manchester, England:

“I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the address and resolutions which you sent me on the eve of the new year. When I came, on the 4th of March, 1861, through a free and constitutional election to preside in the Government of the United States, the country was found at the verge of civil war. Whatever might have been the cause or whoseever the fault, one duty, paramount to all others, was before me, namely, to maintain and preserve at once the Constitution and the integrity of the Federal Republic. A conscientious purpose to perform this duty is the key to all measures of administration which have been and to all which will hereafter be pursued. Under our frame of Government and my official oath, I could not depart from this purpose if I would. It is not always in the power of government to enlarge or restrict the scope of moral results which follow the policies that they may deem it necessary for the public safety from time to time to adopt. I have understood well that the duty of self-preservation rests solely with the American people; but I have at the same time been aware that favor or disfavor of foreign nations might have a material influence in enlarging or prolonging the struggle with disloyal men in which the country is engaged. A fair examination of history has served to authorize a belief that the past actions and influences of the United States were generally regarded as hav-

ing been beneficial toward mankind. I have, therefore, reckoned upon the forbearance of nations. Circumstances to which you kindly allude induce me especially to expect that if justice and good faith should be practiced by the United States, they would encounter no hostile influence on the part of Great Britain. It is now a pleasant duty to acknowledge the demonstration you have given of your desire that a spirit of amity and peace toward this country may prevail in the councils of your Queen, who is respected and esteemed in your own country only more than she is by the kindred nation which has its home on this side of the Atlantic. I know and deeply deplore the sufferings which the workingmen at Manchester, and in all Europe, are called to endure in this crisis. It has been often and studiously represented that the attempt to overthrow this Government, which was built upon the foundation of human rights, and to substitute for it one which should rest exclusively on the basis of human slavery, was likely to obtain the favor of Europe. Through the action of our disloyal citizens, the workingmen of Europe have been subjected to severe trials, for the purpose of forcing their sanction to that attempt. Under the circumstances, I cannot but regard your decisive utterances upon the question as an instance of sublime Christian heroism which has not been surpassed in any age or in any country. It is indeed an energetic and reinspiring assurance of the inherent power of truth, and of the ultimate and universal triumph of justice, hu-

manity and freedom. I do not doubt that the sentiments you have expressed will be sustained by your great nation; and, on the other hand, I have no hesitation in assuring you that they will excite admiration, esteem and the most reciprocal feelings of friendship among the American people. I hail this interchange of sentiment, therefore, as an augury that whatever else may happen, whatever misfortune may befall your country or my own, the peace and friendship which now exists between the two nations will be, as it shall be my desire to make them, perpetual.

Abraham Lincoln.**

On the 26th of February the Senate adopted a resolution† requesting that the correspondence between President Lincoln and the Workingmen of England be laid before it. This was done, and on March 2d the Senate ordered it sent to the printer and incorporated in the Senate Documents.**

President Lincoln's letter to the workingmen of Manchester recognizes the sacrifices which the workingmen of England made in behalf of the Union, and mentions the sublime heroism shown by them, "unsurpassed in any age or land." The polite phrases in regard to the persons at the head of the English Government were probably inserted for diplo-

**Senate Documents.* 1863.

†*Congressional Globe.* February 26, 1863.

***Senate Documents.* Third Session, 37th Congress, 1862-63.

matic reasons. It was really the English working class *alone* that merited the gratitude of the Union.

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